

A219 Exploring the Classical World



The Open University

Block 5

Revision and Retrospection





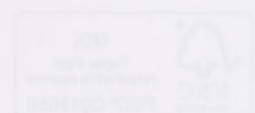
The Open University

A219 Exploring the Classical World

Block 5

Revision and Retrospection

Martin Thorpe and Steve Woodward



This publication forms part of an Open University course A219 *Exploring the Classical World*. Details of this and other Open University courses can be obtained from the Student Registration and Enquiry Service, The Open University, PO Box 197, Milton Keynes, MK7 6BJ, United Kingdom: tel. +44 (0)870 333 4340, email general-enquiries@open.ac.uk

Alternatively, you may visit the Open University website at <http://www.open.ac.uk> where you can learn more about the wide range of courses and packs offered at all levels by The Open University.

To purchase a selection of Open University course materials visit <http://www.ouw.co.uk>, or contact Open University Worldwide, Michael Young Building, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, United Kingdom for a brochure. tel. +44 (0)1908 858785; fax +44 (0)1908 858787; email ouwenq@open.ac.uk

The Open University
Walton Hall, Milton Keynes
MK7 6AA

First published 2006.

Copyright © 2006 The Open University

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted or utilised in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the publisher or a licence from the Copyright Licensing Agency Ltd. Details of such licences (for reprographic reproduction) may be obtained from the Copyright Licensing Agency Ltd of 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1T 4LP.

Open University course materials may also be made available in electronic formats for use by students of the University. All rights, including copyright and related rights and database rights, in electronic course materials and their contents are owned by or licensed to The Open University, or otherwise used by The Open University as permitted by applicable law.

In using electronic course materials and their contents you agree that your use will be solely for the purposes of following an Open University course of study or otherwise as licensed by The Open University or its assigns.

Except as permitted above you undertake not to copy, store in any medium (including electronic storage or use in a website), distribute, transmit or retransmit, broadcast, modify or show in public such electronic materials in whole or in part without the prior written consent of The Open University or in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Edited and designed by The Open University.

Typeset by The Open University.

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow.

ISBN 0 7492 9652 6

1.1

358260B/a219b5rEVISIONi1.1

The paper used in this publication contains pulp sourced from forests independently certified to the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) principles and criteria. Chain of custody certification allows the pulp from these forests to be tracked to the end use (see www.fsc-uk.org).



CONTENTS

Introduction to Block 5	5
Block timetable	5
Aims and objectives	5
Materials required	5
General orientation	6
Part 1 The Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger	7
1.1 Augustus, <i>Res Gestae</i> : Documentary evidence	7
1.2 The appearance of the Forum: Visual evidence	9
1.3 Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> : Literary evidence	13
1.4 What did the statues look like? Visual evidence	18
1.5 Republican heroes	24
1.6 What went on in the Forum? Historiographical evidence	27
1.7 Summary	29
1.8 Postscript	32
References	36
Further reading	37
Part 2 Preparing for the examination	38
2.1 Introduction	38
2.2 Review: <i>Exploring the Classical World</i>	39
2.3 Preparation for the examination	41
2.4 What to do in the exam	55
Acknowledgements	58

Introduction to Block 5

Block timetable

This block comprises two weeks' work. The block is divided into two parts:

- 1 **The Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger.**
A case study, drawing on different kinds of evidence and referring back to topics you have studied earlier in the course. Study of this part will take about one week.
- 2 **Preparing for the examination.** The material in this part is organised in two sections and should account for one week's study altogether. In the review of the course you will look over what you have done in Blocks 1–4 with the aid of the timelines you have constructed and the course materials. In the second part you will develop approaches both to revision and to tackling the exam.

Aims and objectives

The main learning outcomes of this block are:

- To consolidate knowledge and understanding of the Classical world and of the types of evidence upon which they are based.
- To build on skills acquired during the course.
- To develop skills necessary for revision and for the examination.
- To improve confidence.

Materials required



- Readings Book 1
- Readings Book 2



- *Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* (OCCC)



- *Book of Essays: Exploring the Classical World* (ECW)



- *Rome in the Late Republic* (Beard and Crawford)



- CD6, 'Revising for the examination'



- Illustrations Book Blocks 3–5



- eDesktop ('ICT': timeline; 'Course links Block 5')

General orientation

You have now completed the first four blocks of the course and have therefore covered the areas of exploration which form the core of A219 and on which you will be questioned in the examination.

Block 5 has a rather different function. It is divided into two parts, both of which are designed to help you prepare for the examination and each of which should take about a week's study time. Part 1 centres on an investigation of the Forum of Augustus in Rome. Part 2 is designed both to help you to devise revision strategies for the exam and to prepare you for the exam itself.

Part 1 The Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger

In considering the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger, which stood in it, you will be drawing on evidence from several different kinds of primary source (archaeological and visual, literary, historiographical and documentary: see Course Introduction, Section 2.3). The purpose of introducing this material is not to batter you with yet more information about the Classical world, but to use it as a case study for revising the use of sources and for appreciating the advantages and limitations of different kinds of evidence, taken both separately and in combination.

The emphasis, therefore, falls on *how* we explore the ancient world, but as you work through Part 1 I hope you will also find that you are recalling some of *what* you have discovered about the Greek and Roman worlds. It contributes, therefore, to revising both method and content, and gives you a chance to reflect upon your experience across Blocks 1 to 4 and to formulate an overview of the course. These, of course, are essential elements in the process of preparing for the examination.

1.1 Augustus, *Res Gestae*: Documentary evidence

We cannot do better than begin with Augustus' own account:

On my own land I built the Temple of Mars the Avenger and the Forum of Augustus from the spoils of war.

In my thirteenth consulship (2 BCE) the senate, the equestrian order and the entire Roman people gave me the title of *pater patriae* (father of the country) and decreed that it should be inscribed in the entrance to my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum of Augustus, on the base of the *quadriga* (four-horse chariot) which had been set there in my honour by order of the senate.

(Augustus, *Res Gestae* 22.1 and 35.1)

These extracts come from the document known as the *Res Gestae*, the first-person summary of the achievements and expenditure that Augustus planned to have inscribed on bronze pillars at the entrance to his mausoleum (see Block 4, Section 1.5). The original has not survived but a virtually complete copy, together with a Greek version, was discovered carved on the walls of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (modern Ankara) in Turkey.

In commemorating the achievements of a prominent politician and general, the *Res Gestae* conforms to the tradition of Roman epitaphs. You

might like to look back at epitaphs of members of the Scipio family from the third and second centuries BCE (Block 3, Section 3.2). The latest of these, that of Scipio Hispanus (c.130 BCE), also employs the first-person approach that Augustus uses, but just as Augustus' mausoleum outdoes contemporary tombs in size, so the *Res Gestae* – with text amounting to some eight or nine pages of a Penguin paperback – is much longer than other epitaphs. In its length and richness of detail it may owe as much to the kind of funeral speeches described by Polybius (Block 3, Section 3.3) as to actual epitaphs.

At this point I suggest that you look back at Section 5.2 on the Augustan principate in Block 3.

Exercise

Please reread the extracts from the *Res Gestae* printed above and briefly answer the two following questions:

- 1 What do the extracts tell us about the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger?
- 2 What do they not tell us? What additional information will you need if you are to understand fully the Forum and Temple?

Discussion

- 1 This is relatively simple. In Section 22.1 of *Res Gestae* I expect you noticed that Augustus claims the credit for building the Forum and Temple and points out that they were built on land he owned or had bought and were funded from the spoils of war (i.e. their cost did not fall on the people of Rome). In Section 35.1 he refers to the award of the title *pater patriae* in 2 BCE and explains that one of the three places in Rome where this was recorded was on the base of the *quadriga* which stood in the Forum. This provides us with evidence that the Forum must have been at least mainly complete by then.
 - 2 Negatives are often more difficult. However, I imagine you may have noted that so far we have no idea why the Forum and Temple were built, how they were used, or what they looked like.
-

What we have so far may be 'the truth and nothing but the truth' but it is certainly not 'the whole truth'. To get closer to that we must turn to other evidence.

1.2 The appearance of the Forum: Visual evidence

Let's take the last of our unknowns first and see what we can discover from visual sources.

We shall look at a number of these: two photographs (Plates 52 and 53 in the Illustrations Book), two plans (Figures 5.1 and 5.3) and a reconstruction sketch (Figure 5.2). Before examining them in detail it is worth considering their status as sources. Are they primary or secondary? The photograph in Plate 52 certainly shows the remains of the Forum and Temple built during the reign of Augustus, but they are remains from some 2,000 years after the moment of construction, while only parts of the carving shown in Plate 53 are original. The plans and, even more obviously, the reconstruction sketch go beyond what can be seen now and combine conjectures based on a wide variety of evidence.

Photograph

Exercise



Turn to Plate 52 in the Illustrations Book. How much can you discover about the appearance of the Forum and Temple from the photograph? (At this stage, please limit yourself to this photograph and do not bring in evidence from other illustrations.)

Discussion

I expect you were able to identify the remains of the Temple in the centre of the photograph. It stands on a tall podium approached by a flight of some sixteen white (marble) steps. Three Corinthian columns still stand to their full height (over 16m) in the colonnade on the near side of the Temple, while across the front, at the top of the steps, you can see the bases and part of the shafts of other columns. (We can deduce that the colonnade originally ran across the front and down either side of the Temple.) At the back, there seems to be no room for a colonnade, since the side colonnade abuts directly on a massive wall of grey stone, which seems to separate the Forum from the area outside. At the far side of the Forum, beyond the Temple, it is just possible to make out a line of smaller columns and some rectangular niches in the wall behind them. Littered across the ground are broken columns, fragments of stone carving and traces of paving. You may wonder what has happened to the Forum, since the Temple occupies almost all the space you can see and the wall in the bottom left-hand corner seems to run right across the area.

(In the above paragraph I have tried to limit my summary to what can be seen in the photograph. On three occasions, however, I have used brackets to provide information which goes beyond a strict application of my rule: knowledge of the type of white stone and the height of the columns would require more than just looking at the Forum, while the deduction about the colonnade depends partly on knowing something about the general shape of Roman temples.)

In all, it's rather a messy scene and it may have reminded you of the warnings in Block 2, Section 2.3 about the difficulty of 'reading' buildings in a ruined state. Indeed, on the evidence presented so far you may be astonished to learn that Pliny the Elder described the Forum of Augustus as one of the three most beautiful buildings in the world (*Natural History* 36.102).

Plan

Now let's look at Figure 5.1, the first of the plans, and see what additional information this provides. Note that the approximate position from which the photograph in Plate 52 was taken is marked 'X' and that two roads, built by Mussolini in the 1930s, cut across the Forum, covering about half its length. (If you feel uncertain about your skill in reading plans, it might pay to look back at DVD2, Section 2, *Plan Reading*, from Block 2.) It is worth focusing on three features in particular:



- 1 You can now see that the Temple is flanked on either side by a broad colonnade running the full length of the Forum. (The smaller columns you could make out beyond the Temple in the photograph are the front columns of the colonnade on the far, north-western, side of the Forum.) The effect of the colonnades is to reduce the apparent width of the Forum so creating a strong visual axis down the length of the Forum to the Temple at the far end.
- 2 You will also notice that towards the end of each colonnade there is a large *exedra* (recess) of roughly semi-circular shape. A line joining the centre of the curves on either side would run across the top step of the Temple and so would provide a horizontal cross-axis to the vertical one created by the colonnades as mentioned above. (This is certainly apparent on the plan, but would it be equally clear to someone standing inside the Forum? Figure 5.2 may help you decide.)
- 3 Finally, compare the length of the two colonnades. From inside the Forum they would seem equal in length, but the plan shows that the Forum is not symmetrical but is cut away in the east corner. You

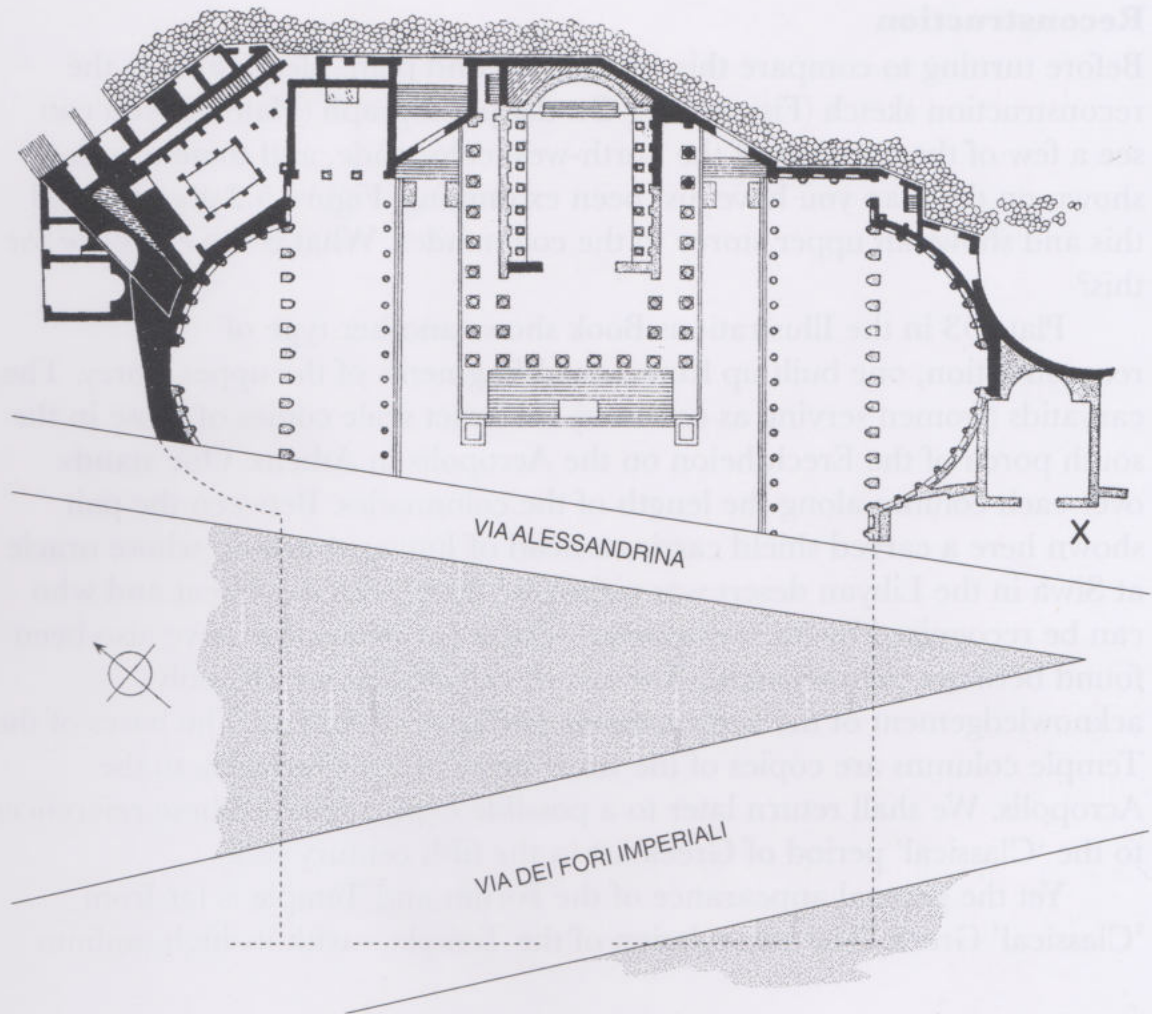


Figure 5.1 Plan of Forum and Temple, showing modern roads and area not excavated, adapted from Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm*, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1968, p.8. © Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, D-72072 Tübingen, Germany.

remember that Augustus made the point that he owned the ground on which the Forum was built (*Res Gestae* 21.1 in Reading 5.1). In his biography of Augustus, Suetonius comments on the unsymmetrical shape:

Augustus restricted the size of his Forum because he could not bring himself to evict the owners of the neighbouring houses.

(Suetonius, *Augustus* 56.2 in Reading 5.2)

However, generosity of spirit may not have been the real reason for the lack of symmetry. Extending the east corner would have meant building over the course of a sewer and street, and reluctance to do this has been suggested as the true explanation for Augustus' decision (Steinby, 1995, pp.289–95).

Reconstruction

Before turning to compare this with the second plan, please look at the reconstruction sketch (Figure 5.2). On the photograph (Plate 52) you can see a few of the columns of the north-west colonnade, and these are also shown on the plan you have just been examining. Figure 5.2 goes beyond this and shows an upper storey to the colonnades. What is the evidence for this?

Plate 53 in the Illustrations Book shows another type of reconstruction, one built up from actual fragments of the upper storey. The caryatids (women serving as columns) are exact scale copies of those in the south porch of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis in Athens. One stands over each column along the length of the colonnades. Between the pair shown here a carved shield carries a head of Jupiter Ammon, whose oracle at Siwa in the Libyan desert was visited by Alexander the Great and who can be recognised by his ram's horns. (Heads of other gods have also been found between the caryatids.) The use of caryatids is not the only acknowledgement of the achievements of Classical Athens. The bases of the Temple columns are copies of the Ionic bases in the Propylaea to the Acropolis. We shall return later to a possible explanation of these references to the 'Classical' period of Greek art in the fifth century BCE.

Yet the general appearance of the Forum and Temple is far from 'Classical' Greek. The basic design of the Temple – with its high podium

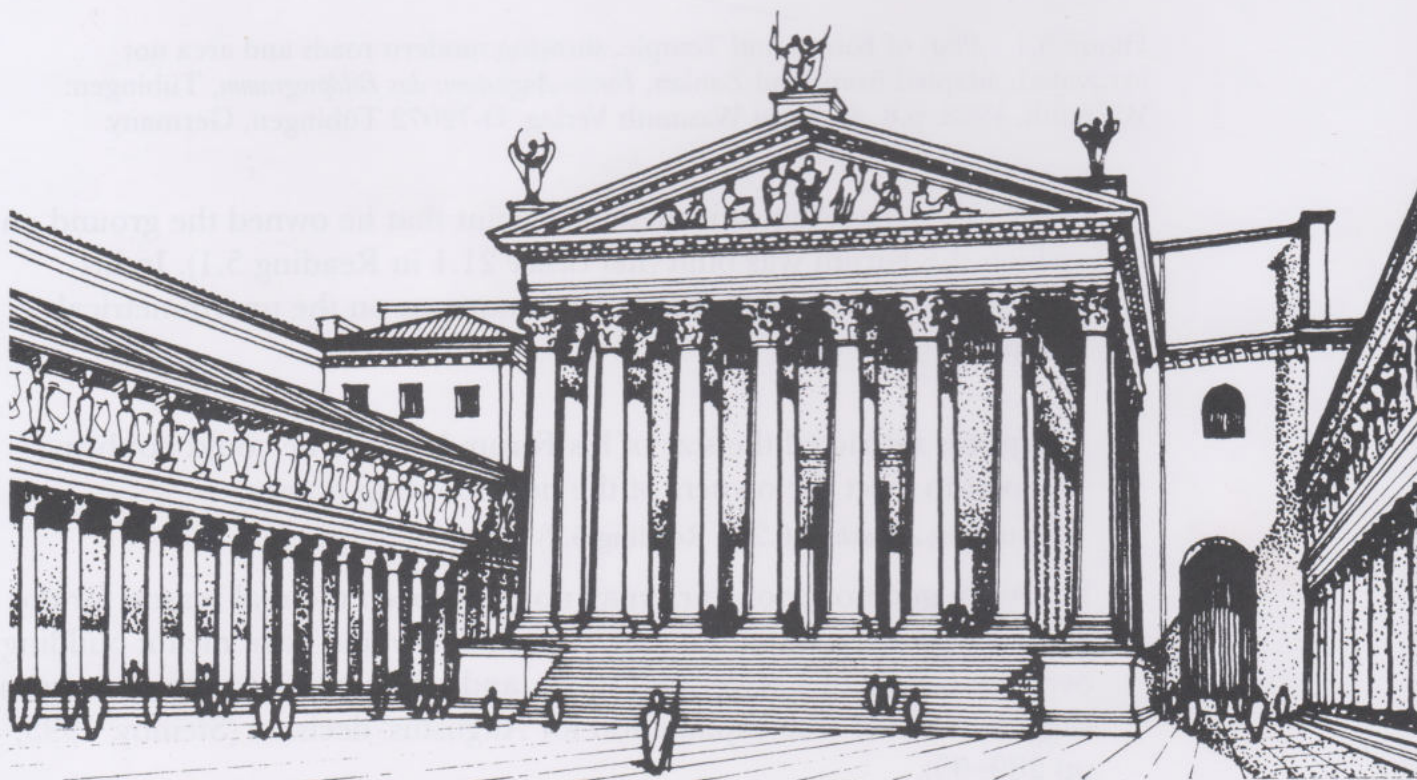


Figure 5.2 Reconstruction drawing of Temple and Forum from J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981, ill. 8, p.31. © Yale University Press/Sheila Gibson.

and deep porch – and the feeling of enclosure created by the colonnades and the huge wall at the back of the Temple are Italian. Another feature that would have been immediately apparent to visitors, but which plans and reconstruction sketches can hardly show, is the rich variety of marbles the architects used. The outside of the Temple was white. Columns and capitals, steps, *cella* walls and the facing of the podium were all of marble from the quarries at Luni (Carrara, north of Pisa), which had only come into general use around 50 BCE. Colour became important inside the porch. The floor here and in the *cella* was paved with marbles from North Africa (Numidian yellow), western Turkey (red and black ‘Lucullan’) and central Turkey (Phrygian purple – a white marble with purple markings). This last was also used for the pilasters in the *cella*. In the Forum, the shafts of the colonnade columns were of Numidian yellow (the capitals were white) and the pavement was made of Italian grey, ‘Lucullan’ and Numidian yellow marbles. It is not difficult to see why Suetonius thought Augustus was justified in boasting that he had found Rome a city of brick and had left it a city of marble (Suetonius, *Augustus* 28.3 in Reading 5.2).

Plans

Please turn now to the second plan (Figure 5.3) and compare it with the one you studied earlier (Figure 5.1).

One difference you will immediately spot is that this plan ignores Mussolini’s roads and shows the full length of the Forum. Or, at least, it shows how the archaeologist who drew it envisaged the full length of the Forum. In fact, the south-eastern part of the Forum has never been fully excavated and the entrances to the Forum in particular are simply well-informed guesses. Another difference is that it indicates the probable position of the sculptural group showing Augustus in a chariot drawn by four horses (*Res Gestae* 35.1 in Reading 5.1). The most significant difference, though, is that this plan provides information about the great sculptural programme that decorated the Temple and Forum.

This look at some of the visual evidence has made it possible for us to start to build up a picture of what the Forum and Temple looked like, but perhaps we should end on a warning note. What is the evidence for the sculptural programme?

1.3 Ovid, *Fasti*: Literary evidence

In fact, we are uncommonly fortunate in having contemporary literary evidence of the sculptural programme. (Contrast the situation for the Parthenon frieze. Admittedly the frieze is far more complete than the sculptures of the Forum of Augustus, but when you were studying it in Block 2, Section 2.6 the frieze itself was almost the only primary evidence

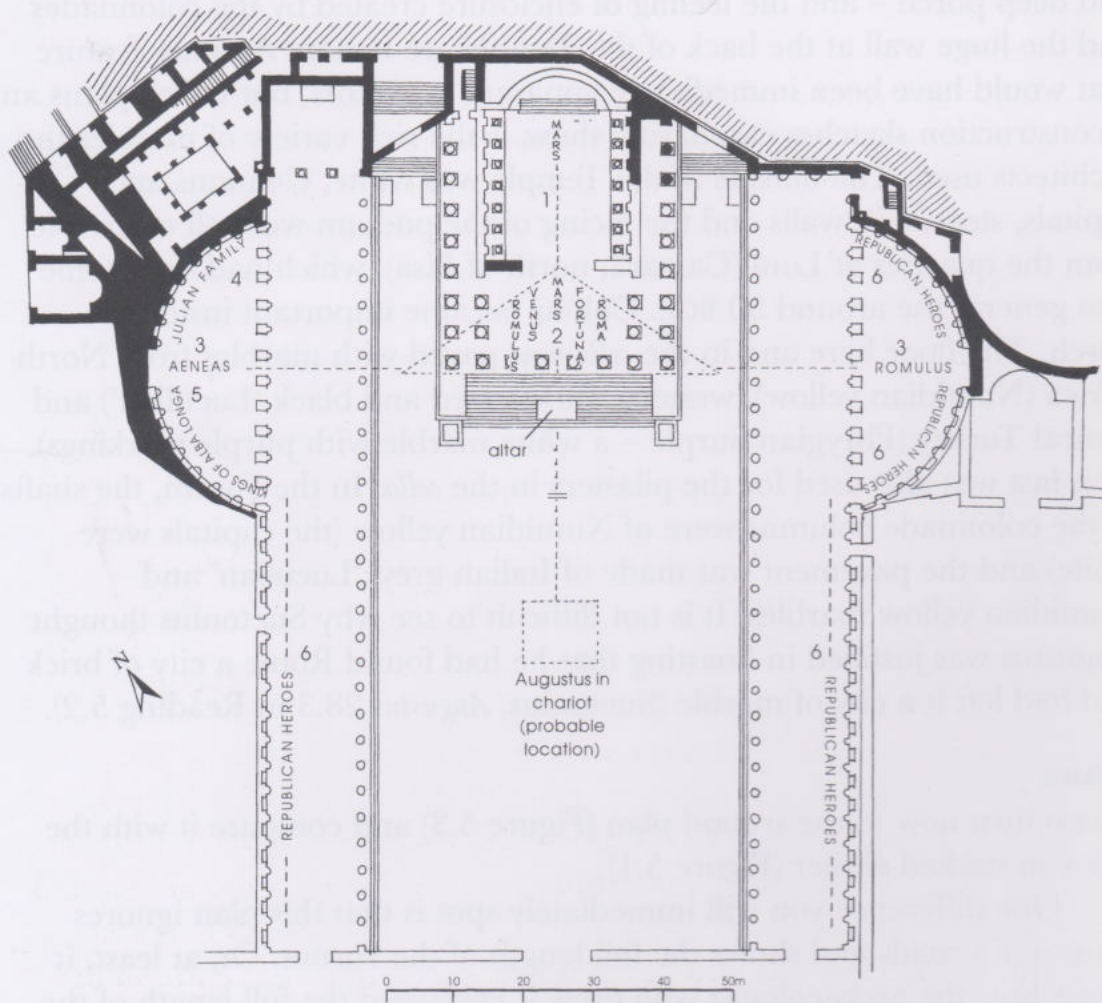


Figure 5.3 Plan of Forum and Temple showing sculptural programme, from M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, Cambridge: CUP, 1998, vol.2, fig. 4.2 (a); adapted from Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm*, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1968, end plan courtesy of Sue Bird. © Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, D-72072 Tübingen, Germany.

available. Modern scholars all had theories about its meaning, but there was no contemporary literary evidence that might have helped you to decide between them.) The evidence for the Forum of Augustus comes in Ovid's poem *Fasti*.

You have met Ovid already in Block 3, Section 5.4 as one of the Roman elegiac poets who wrote mainly on love. You might like to look back at this section now and also to consult the *OCCC* entry on Ovid (in particular, the opening paragraph on his life and the one on the *Fasti*). Ovid's account of the origins of various religious festivals and rituals would have appealed to contemporary antiquarian interests; more important perhaps, it would also have chimed with Augustus' policy of restoring temples and religious practices that had dropped out of use, atoning for the collapse of moral standards exemplified in the Civil Wars and re-



establishing a right relation between the Romans and their gods (*Res Gestae* 8.5 in Reading 5.1).

Ovid's description of the Temple and Forum comes in Book 5 of the *Fasti*, when he is dealing with the religious calendar for the month of May. On 12 May, the anniversary of the dedication of the Temple of Mars the Avenger, Ovid imagines Mars descending from the heavens to inspect his new Temple, perhaps to take up residence there.

The sculptural programme

Exercise



Please turn now to Reading 5.3 (*Fasti* 5.545–96).

How far does Ovid's description provide evidence to justify the sculptural programme set out in Figure 5.3?

Discussion



You will probably have picked out the reference to gods in the pediment (559) and connected this with the fact that the three figures shown in the centre of the pediment on the plan are Mars himself, with Venus on one side and Fortuna on the other. Continuing to link text with plan, I expect you will also have noticed that Ovid then writes as if Mars has now taken up his position in the centre of the pediment, at the crossing point of the vertical and horizontal axes. If he turns to one side (563) he sees Aeneas carrying his father Anchises; on the other (565), Romulus with the *spolia opima*. The two founders of Rome, therefore, stand at the extremes of the horizontal axis. Ovid also mentions that on Aeneas' side are members of the Julian family, the link between Aeneas and Augustus. (The myth of the descent of the Julian family from Venus and Anchises is mentioned in the section on Virgil in Block 3, Section 5.5; see also the *OCCC* entry on Aeneas.) We know that Julius Caesar's father was one of these, but Caesar himself, as a god, was probably not included with the mortals, though he may have been represented in the interior of the Temple. On Romulus' side, the rather puzzling phrase 'records of great achievements placed beneath the ranks of heroes' refers to what the plan calls 'republican heroes'. Each of the figures in the colonnades was represented by a statue in a niche, beneath which an inscription recorded his main achievements – much as the *atrium* of a noble Roman house would exhibit portrait busts of famous ancestors with a summary of the offices they had held or the victories they had won.

(See the reconstruction drawing, Plate 54 in the Illustrations Book, and refer back to the extract from Polybius, Block 3, Section 3.3.)

Before we leave this topic, it is worth noting that Ovid does not attempt to describe the entire programme of sculpture. He does not tell us anything about the statues inside the Temple, nor about the outer figures in the pediment. He also omits the kings of Alba Longa (the city preceding Rome that was founded by Aeneas' son Ascanius) and seems to suggest that the republican heroes are to be found on one side only. We must remember, though, that many of Ovid's readers would have been familiar with the Forum and would have brought their knowledge of it to their reading.

Mars the Avenger

However, Ovid's account is not confined to the sculptural programme. Following his regular practice in the *Fasti*, he also explains why Mars is given the title 'Avenger' – indeed, why he is given it twice (595 in Reading 5.3).

Exercise

Please make a brief note identifying the two reasons Ovid gives for this (Reading 5.3).



Discussion

The first of these is the vow Octavian made just before the Battle of Philippi (42 BCE) against Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar: if he (and Mark Antony, his ally at the time) won, he would dedicate a temple to Mars the Avenger (569–78). This became an accepted part of the foundation myth for the cult (Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.2 in Reading 5.2), but some scholars doubt this story, arguing that such a vow would not have been appropriate in a civil war.

If there is anything in their doubts, the second reason provided by Ovid is all the more important: the recovery of the Roman standards captured by the Parthians (579–91). We know that Julius Caesar had been planning a campaign against the Parthians to avenge the defeat at Carrhae and bring back the captured standards. After his death, responsibility for carrying out this plan fell on Augustus as his heir, and recovery of the standards became one of the great propaganda

issues of his reign. The poets looked forward to it: Virgil envisages the defeat of the Parthians as one of the scenes on the doors of the temple he will dedicate to Augustus (*Georgics* 3.31, published 29 BCE); Propertius, in the late twenties, asks Augustus to expiate the shame of Crassus' defeat (*The Poems* 3.4.9); Horace calls for vengeance on the Parthian cavalry (*Odes* 1.2.51, published 23 BCE but written earlier).



In 20 BCE Augustus succeeded in winning back the standards, though, as you have read in Block 3, Section 5.3, this was achieved by diplomatic means rather than by victory in war. He regarded this as one of the great successes of his reign, recording it in his *Res Gestae* (29.2 in Reading 5.1) and eventually depositing the standards in the Temple of Mars the Avenger. Their return was celebrated on coins. Figure 5.4, a coin issued in 19–18 BCE, shows the standards and carries the legend *signis receptis* (the standards recovered). The famous statue of Augustus discovered in the Prima Porta villa outside Rome shows him in military dress; in the centre of his breastplate an unkempt barbarian in native dress is about to return a Roman eagle to a smartly dressed Roman officer (Plates 43 and 44).

Ovid's evidence has not only given us confidence in the accuracy of the second plan; it has also begun to give us an idea of what it meant to Augustus and the people of Rome. Yet two gaps in our understanding remain. We know what the statues represented but not what they looked like (describing works of art in words is always difficult), and so far the scene is rather lifeless (the cast is all stone) and we do not yet know how the Forum was used and what people actually did in it. We shall look at these in turn.



Figure 5.4 *Signis receptis* denarius, 19–18 BCE. Obverse: Mars, helmeted and cloaked, standing, holding legionary eagle in right hand, standard over left shoulder. British Museum, London. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1.4 What did the statues look like? Visual evidence

We start at a disadvantage: only fragments of the statues survive. Think back for a moment to the very different situation you faced when working on the Parthenon in Block 2. There is some damage to the frieze and its remains are scattered between various museums, but more than 80 per cent of it survives and more than half of the missing portions are known from drawings made before the 1687 explosion. The lack of anything comparable for the Forum of Augustus means we have to adopt a very different approach if we are to answer the question that introduces this section. We have to approach it by looking at works of art that do survive to see if they throw any light on what is missing. The cult statue (or statues?) that stood inside the Temple provides a good example of this process.

The cult statue(s)

There must, of course, have been a statue of Mars. However, a couplet from Ovid strongly suggests that Mars did not stand alone but was accompanied by Venus.

Suppose a woman enters the Temple of great Mars, your gift to the city:
Venus stands close to Mars, her husband is left outside.

(*Tristia* 2.295–6)

The couplet comes from a long poem in which Ovid, in exile, begs Augustus for clemency. To excuse the crime that led to his exile he points out that even temples can tempt to sin. The reference is to the myth of how Vulcan netted his wife Venus and her lover Mars in bed together. (You have already met Homer's brilliant version of the story in Block 1, Section 5.4) It seems unlikely that Augustus would have been moved to pity by this flippant approach!

So perhaps there were two statues. As mother of Aeneas and ancestress of the Julian family, Venus would certainly have merited a place, and the apse where the cult statues stood is almost 12 metres wide, certainly enough to accommodate more than one figure.

One piece of evidence which has been regarded as crucial in this connection is a relief panel from an altar originally found at Carthage (Figure 5.5). It is of Augustan date and shows three figures. The one in the centre and the one on the left stand on low bases, so are presumably meant to represent free-standing statues. (The lower part of the figure on the right has been damaged, but it was probably treated in the same way.) The helmet, cuirass, shield, and lance (originally attached separately and held in the right hand) mark out the central figure as Mars, while the female figure, with a Cupid between her and Mars, must be Venus – a decently clothed Venus, not Ovid's flighty adventuress. The other male figure has the same

pose and dress as the statue of *divus Iulius* (the deified Julius) in the Forum of Caesar, and the curious depression in the front of his hair is probably where a star was fixed to represent the comet that signalled Caesar's deification. We know that Augustus made a point of attaching such a star to any statues of *divus Iulius* that he put up (Suetonius, *Julius* 88; Servius, *ad Aeneid* 8.681).

Two points of detail are worth attention. The shield of Mars is decorated with an oak wreath. Augustus was given just such a wreath, the *corona civica*, for saving the lives of Roman citizens – that is, by ending the civil wars (*Res Gestae* 34.2 in Reading 5.1; see also Figure 3.23 in Block 3). The same emphasis on peace shows in what Cupid is doing: he has stolen Mars' sword and is handing it to Venus for safe-keeping. Augustus' pride in having brought peace to the Roman world is demonstrated in his boast that he had closed the doors of the Temple of Janus on three occasions (*Res Gestae* 13 in Reading 5.1).



Figure 5.5 Relief of Mars, Venus and *divus Iulius*, Carthage. Algiers Museum, inv. no.217. Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence.

So we may have here a provincial version of the cult statues from the Temple of Mars the Avenger. Or do you find the evidence less than convincing? Certainty in this sort of matter is impossible, but I will end discussion of the cult statues with three points that seem to me to tell in favour of the theory.

- 1 A gem (Figure 5.6) showing the same figure as appears in the centre of the Carthage relief carries an inscription labelling it as MARS VLTOR (Mars the Avenger).
- 2 There is also a colossal statue of Mars in the same dress and pose. (Plate 55 in the Illustrations Book shows the statue as it now stands in the Capitoline Museum in Rome; Plate 56 is a drawing made in the sixteenth century before the statue was repaired. Comparison between them serves as a useful reminder that archaeological evidence is not always as straightforward and reliable as it seems.) Here the breastplate, which is undecorated on the Carthage relief, carries an important message: the griffins that face each other above the palmette are beasts that were associated in mythology with Nemesis, goddess of vengeance. Although it cannot be seen on either illustration, here too the shield is decorated with a wreath of oak leaves.
- 3 Another panel of the Carthage altar has also been preserved. This shows Tellus or Mother Earth (Plate 57), a figure celebrating the fertility of the human, animal and vegetable worlds. It is clearly adapted from the famous figure of Tellus on the Ara Pacis in Rome (Plate 58). The fact that this panel of the Carthage altar makes reference to a major Augustan monument may be taken to strengthen the theory of a link between the relief with the three figures and the Temple of Mars the Avenger.



Figure 5.6 Mars the Avenger, bearing the legend 'MARS VLTOR', gem impression. Beazley Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. Photo: Dr. C. Wagner.

Do you find the case any more convincing with this additional evidence? Is it equally convincing for each of the three figures? In general, scholars accept that the central figure does represent the cult statue of Mars the Avenger but there is more doubt about the other two. Some have suggested that the statues of Venus and *divus Iulius* may have stood somewhere in the Temple but were not necessarily ranked with Mars as cult statues. The plan (Figure 5.3) is cautious and only records the position of Mars. To repeat, certainty in these matters is not possible. The important thing is to make up your mind on the basis of the evidence.

The argument in this section has required you to consider several different pieces of evidence, mainly visual but also some literary, and the connections between them. In this it is not untypical of the way historians have to operate when exploring the ancient world. I hope you have not found it impenetrable, but I should quite happily agree if you thought it complex. The next section works in a similar way but is rather more straightforward.

The statues in the pediment

Ovid's information about the statues in the pediment of the Temple is rather thin. He tells us only that the highest positions were occupied by unconquered gods (*Fasti* 5.559 in Reading 5.3). The most informative source is a relief dating from the reign of Claudius (CE 41–54) which shows a scene of sacrifice beside a temple (Figure 5.7). The temple on the relief strongly resembles the Temple of Mars the Avenger, and the carving of the pediment provides our best evidence for the statues placed there. Remember, though, as you read the following paragraphs, that the central figure in the pediment as shown in the relief is only about seven inches high.

In the centre stands Mars, with a cloak over one shoulder and falling round the hips to leave the torso bare (a pose also seen in statues of Augustus); he wears a helmet and carries a lance and a sword in its sheath. On either side are three figures. Note how, as on the Parthenon, they are accommodated to the slope of the pediment – first standing, then sitting, finally reclining.

On Mars' right (your left as you look at the picture) is Venus, wearing tunic and cloak and carrying a sceptre; the cupid at her shoulder helps to identify her. Outside Venus is the seated figure of Romulus, dressed as a shepherd and carrying a staff; together these remind the viewer of his early life as a shepherd and that he introduced augury to Rome. (Augury is the practice of foretelling the future by taking the auspices, i.e. observing the flight of birds, and the augurs carried staffs resembling shepherds' crooks. The name 'Augustus' was, wrongly, thought to share a root with 'augury', and Augustus had been an augur since 42 BCE.) The last figure on this side



Figure 5.7 Ara Pietatis, Rome, representation of Temple of Mars the Avenger. Villa Medici, Rome. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, Inst. Neg. no. 70.1341.

represents the Palatine Hill, where Romulus first took the auspices and established the first settlement in Rome. (Figure 5.3 does not record either the Palatine Hill or the figure of the Tiber in the opposite corner.) You might like to look back at the work you have done on Romulus in Block 3, Section 4.1, and also note Suetonius' point (*Augustus* 7.2 in Reading 5.2)

that before opting for the name 'Augustus' Octavian had considered a suggestion that he might take the name 'Romulus'. The story that Romulus killed his brother Remus may have been one reason Augustus rejected the suggestion: it was too apt to remind people of the civil wars.

The figure next to Mars on the other side is the goddess Fortuna (Fortune); she is carrying a cornucopia (a symbol of prosperity) and by her right side she holds a rudder (a sign of her power to control the course of destiny). The presence of this personification here, rather than one of the Olympian gods, should probably be linked with the fact that when Augustus returned from Syria in 19 BCE the senate decreed in his honour an altar to *fortuna redux* ('fortune that leads home') – *Res Gestae* 11 in Reading 5.1. The seated figure outside her is the goddess Roma, with shield and spear as symbols of victory, and the reclining figure represents the River Tiber, who, according to Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.31–65), aided Aeneas on his arrival in Italy.

Aeneas and Romulus

Ovid's description of the statues in the Forum (Reading 5.3) tells us that Aeneas and Romulus stood opposite each other and level with the front of the Temple, but not on which side each stood. Luckily, the archaeologists have been able to settle this question. Among the fragments discovered in the north-west *exedra* are parts of inscriptions referring to members of the Julian family. Since we know that these were placed beside Aeneas, he too must have stood here, and Romulus in the south-eastern *exedra*.



But what did their statues look like? Once again the originals do not survive, so we have to work in the indirect way used in the previous two sections. Plates 59 and 60 show paintings of Aeneas and Romulus from the façade of a house in Pompeii.

Exercise

It has been suggested that these paintings represent versions of the statues in the Forum of Augustus. Do you find any grounds for accepting this suggestion?

Discussion

You probably noted that, as Ovid says, Aeneas is carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder (though he does not mention that he is also holding his son Ascanius/Iulus by the hand), while Romulus is carrying the *spolia opima* he has won by killing the enemy general (you can just make out his breastplate, helmet and shield mounted on a pole). More striking, in my view, is the fact that the two figures seem

designed to fit their positions in the Forum of Augustus, facing towards each other across the front of the Temple. (The figures are almost mirror images of each other: they move one way and turn to face the other.) Finally, I wonder whether you feel the painter has tried to represent a three-dimensional quality that might derive from the statues. The way he has placed Ascanius to the side of and just behind his father seems to me to suggest this, but, as I have said before, this kind of judgement is very subjective; indeed, even if you see a three-dimensional effect here, you may not feel convinced that it means the painter had the Forum statues in mind.

What I think we can say with some confidence is that the statue group of Aeneas and his family was well known and widely imitated. Two examples make the point. Plate 61, from a villa near Stabiae, is a parody of the group: Aeneas, his father and his son are shown as apes, with dogs' heads and enormous phalluses. A tombstone from Luni (see Figure 8.4 in Val Hope's essay 'The Roman Child') has applied the design to the death of a mother; it has become an easily available symbol of *pietas* within the family. (If you wish to remind yourself of the meaning of this term and the corresponding adjective *pius*, see Block 3, Section 5.5.)

1.5 Republican heroes

The statues of Aeneas and Romulus are probably the only two which represent figures in motion. The surviving fragments of the other colonnade statues suggest that they were all stationary and faced directly out of their niches at the viewer. The reconstruction drawing (Plate 54) illustrates this. In this case, the figure wears a toga and can therefore be classified as one of the statesmen of republican Rome; in other cases, the figure wears a cuirass, thus being identified as a general, probably one who had gained a triumph. The statues were not portraits in the modern sense. Some, perhaps those of figures further back in the past, were idealised, while others are in the later republican, naturalistic style; both are conventions.



As Plate 54 shows, there were two inscriptions under each statue. First, on the base of the statue the viewer could read the figure's name and a brief summary of his career. The example shown in Figure 5.8 comes from the part of the north-west *exedra* devoted to members of the Julian family. (Only a relatively small part of the stone has been found – indicated in the lower centre by the letters shown in black – and it therefore provides a useful reminder of just how much interpretation of fragmentary inscriptions depends on other sources of knowledge.)

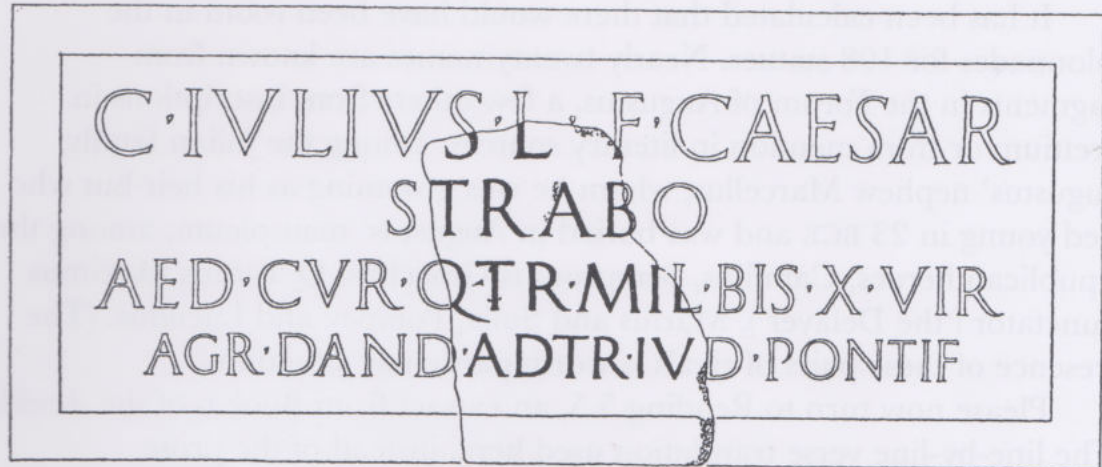


Figure 5.8 Inscription from statue base of C. Iulius Caesar Strabo, from Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm*, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1968, fig. 33; from Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII. 3, Rome, 1937. © Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, D-72072 Tübingen, Germany.

With the abbreviations expanded, the Latin text would run:

C. Iulius L. filius Caesar / **Strabo** / aedilis curulis, **quaestor**, **tribunus militum** bis, decemvir / agris dandis **adtribuendis iudicandis**, pontifex.

And the translation would be:

Gaius Iulius son of Lucius Caesar / Strabo / curule aedile, quaestor, twice military tribune, member of the board of ten for legal judgements concerning the distribution and assignment of lands, priest.

A larger panel on the wall below the niche carried the second inscription, an *elogium* (funerary inscription) giving more details of the character's achievements. The *elogium* of Appius Claudius Caecus, who was censor in 312 BCE and whom you have already met in the excerpt from Cicero's speech *pro Caelio* in Block 3, Section 4.5, provides a good example. Only sparse fragments of this were found in the Forum of Augustus, but a copy from Aretium (modern Arezzo, in central Italy) makes it possible to restore the full text. It informs the reader that:

... he [Appius Claudius] captured several cities from the Samnites, routed the army of the Sabines and Etruscans, prevented peace being made with King Pyrrhus; in his censorship he built the Via Appia and brought the Aqua Appia [an aqueduct carrying his name] into the city; he built the Temple of Bellona.

(CIL XI.1827)

The curt style is very like the epitaphs of the Scipios (Block 3, Section 3.2).

It has been calculated that there would have been room in the colonnades for 108 statues. Nearly twenty names are known from fragments in the Forum of Augustus, a few others from inscriptions in Atrium or from mention in literary sources: among the Julian family, Augustus' nephew Marcellus, whom he was grooming as his heir but who died young in 23 BCE and was buried in Augustus' mausoleum; among the republican heroes, Camillus, Sempronius Gracchus, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator ('the Delayer'), Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Lucullus. (The presence of these pairs of rivals is worth particular attention.)

Please now turn to Reading 5.5, an extract from Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. (The line-by-line verse translation used here, instead of the prose translation used in Block 3, should help you to identify and refer to the historical figures mentioned by Virgil.) You have already done some work on Virgil in Block 3, Section 5.5, and I suggest it would pay to look back now at this section, particularly for the comments on the 'Augustan context' of the poem. Remember that Virgil died in 19 BCE, a year after Augustus had recovered the Parthian standards but well before the completion of the Forum and Temple.

In this extract Aeneas has gone down to the Underworld to consult his father Anchises about his future. Anchises points out the souls of Aeneas' descendants waiting to be born and to take their places on the stage of Roman history.



Exercise

How far do you think Augustus, in commissioning the Forum and Temple, and Virgil, in writing the *Aeneid*, approach Roman history in the same way?



Discussion

I think there are probably two sides to this question. I am sure you noticed that some of the figures Anchises points out are also to be found in the sculptural programme. Virgil sometimes refers to them in a rather roundabout way – which may make it difficult to identify them – but you may have spotted Romulus himself (777–80), the kings of Alba Longa (760–70) or, among the republican heroes, Camillus (825 – and note 'the standards he recovered'), Fabius 'the Delayer' (845–6) or Pompey the Great, paired here with Julius Caesar (826–35), and the figure who receives the greatest attention from Virgil is the one who stood closest to Augustus, the young Marcellus (860–86). It seems as if an agreed list of the great figures from Rome's history was becoming established, and the evidence for this might be even

stronger if we knew the names of more of the republican heroes. For instance, it would be interesting to know how far the list of republican heroes in the Forum coincided with Livy's exemplary figures from the early republic (Block 3, Section 3.1).

Yet if there is an overlap of content, the two arts inevitably treat it in a different way. The sculptures are all of dead heroes. If they can be said to live at all, it is only in the sense that, like the funeral masks Polybius mentions (Block 3, Section 3.3), they challenge the viewer to imitate their glorious achievements. Virgil, on the other hand, describes what is, historically, Rome's past as if it still lay in the future – 'history in the future tense', as Auden describes it in his poem 'Secondary Epic' – and so invites the reader to participate in the unfolding destiny of Rome.

1.6 What went on in the Forum? Historiographical evidence



When we read the extracts from Augustus' *Res Gestae* in Section 1.1 we realised that he had not offered any explanation for how the Forum would be used. Our investigation of its appearance and the details of the sculptural programme have begun to suggest answers, but for further evidence we should turn to two later writers, the biographer Suetonius and the historian Cassius Dio. The *OCC* has articles on each of them. Notice that the last paragraph of the article on Suetonius emphasises the difference between a biographer like Suetonius and historians proper such as Tacitus or Dio. This is a fair point, but it is also important to recognise that when a biographer writes about a major public figure, as Suetonius in the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, his material is bound to be of interest to historians. Both Suetonius and Dio can reasonably be classed as 'historiographic' sources (see Course Introduction, Section 2.3).

One of the reasons that both are important lies in the careers they followed. For some years Suetonius was close to the centre of imperial power and would have had access to information in the imperial archives. Dio had a distinguished public career and claims to have spent ten years researching the information he needed for his *Roman History*.

Both also fit into that awkward category where neither 'primary' nor 'secondary' seems an entirely appropriate label. Yes, they are both ancient sources, but Suetonius was writing more than a hundred and Dio around two hundred years after the events they are describing. The Course Introduction, Section 2.3 would class them as 'ancient secondary sources'.

Exercise

Please now read the extracts from Suetonius (*Augustus*, 29) and Dio (Readings 5.2 and 5.4).



What do they tell us about the activities that took place in the Forum of Augustus? (You might find it useful to identify first the activities mentioned by both authors, then those found in only one of them.)

Discussion

Both Suetonius and Dio record that when governors left Rome to take up command in their provinces, they made their formal departure from the Forum of Augustus. (Presumably they offered prayers for success and made sacrifice.) Similarly, when governors returned to Rome at the end of their tour of duty, it was here that they brought any spoils of victory and here, in the Temple of Mars, that the senate met to decide if they should be awarded a triumph. These ceremonies were all concerned with the foreign and military policies of the empire, and, when we remember that the standards recovered from the Parthians were housed here, we may feel that this is a central function of the Forum.

There are also details mentioned by only one of the authors which tend to support this view. Suetonius records that the senate met in the Temple of Mars to debate questions of war and peace and that Augustus used to bring 'barbarian chieftains' here to take their oaths of submission or alliance. (Augustus himself mentions embassies from India and from some of the tribes living around the Black Sea – *Res Gestae* 31 in Reading 5.1.) Dio states that generals awarded a triumph were also honoured with a statue in the Forum, and an inscription of CE 107 records that one of Trajan's generals was honoured in this way (*CIL* VI.1386). (The reference to bronze, however, may simply be a mistake, since fragments of surviving statues are all of marble.) Two of Dio's other points – the annual cavalry festival and the ceremony in which young men were enrolled in the military lists – also emphasise the role of the Forum as a theatre of Rome's military glory. (The latter is intriguingly reminiscent of the parade of Athenian war orphans at the City Dionysia, mentioned in Lorna Hardwick's essay 'Performance, Competition and Democracy in Athenian Culture' in *ECW*.) Noticing all this, the people of Rome would doubtless have remembered that by the time of Augustus' death the provinces under his direct control contained 24 of the 25 legions in the Roman army.

Interestingly, Dio omits the function Suetonius singles out as Augustus' purpose in building the Forum: the provision of extra space for hearing law suits. Why Dio omits it we do not know, but an anecdote in Suetonius' life of Claudius confirms that trials were heard in the Forum:

Whatever the time and whatever the place, Claudius was always eager for food and wine. On one occasion when he was presiding over a trial in the Forum of Augustus he was overcome by the smell of a meal that was being prepared for the Salii [priests of Mars, responsible for the Temple] in the neighbouring Temple of Mars. Abandoning his seat on the platform he went up to the priests and lay down to eat beside them.

(Suetonius, *Claudius* 33)

Before ending this section I owe you an apology. I suggested that you should approach your enquiry into the activities that took place in the Forum by comparing the accounts of Suetonius and Dio. There is a risk, however, that this will give the impression that they form quite separate strands of evidence. In reality, it is more than likely that Dio had read Suetonius in the course of his ten years' preparation.

1.7 Summary

So far in this part of Block 5 you have examined a range of different sources, each making its own particular contribution to our knowledge and understanding. Before leaving the topic I should like you to think back over these and try to formulate a general picture of the meaning of the Forum and Temple. In preparation for this, however, you might find it useful to review your work on two topics you studied earlier in the course.

First, you probably remember that at the end of your work on the Parthenon in Block 2 (Sections 2.5 and 2.6) you were asked to consider the various modern interpretations of the frieze and the criteria you might use for choosing between them. Is your task here easier or more difficult than it was with the Parthenon? Are the differences between the two a matter of the amount or type of evidence? Or do we find it easier to appreciate the context – political, social, cultural – in one case than in the other?



Second, in Block 3, you studied a number of issues in the political history of the Roman republic. These included the use of violence and the increasing intensity of élite competition which led to the outbreak of civil war and eventually to the establishment of a new form of government under Augustus. (Beard and Crawford's section on 'Breakdown', pp.68–71, might also be useful here.) There are also a number of references to the

tradition of prominent Romans using building projects to promote their power and prestige. Does this material help us to understand Augustus' Forum and Temple?

Exercise

Please now sketch out an answer to the following question:

- What do you consider Augustus' main purpose in commissioning his Forum and the Temple of Mars the Avenger?

Discussion

I expect you have remembered that Suetonius said that Augustus' purpose in building the Forum was to provide extra space for legal cases (*Augustus* 29.1 in Reading 5.2), while Ovid offered two explanations for the construction of the Temple of Mars the Avenger (*Fasti* 5.545–96 in Reading 5.3). We can certainly accept these as part of the answer to our question, but you may feel that they do not go far enough, that they leave significant features of Forum and Temple unexplained. This kind of question is, of course, essentially open-ended, and your selection of points may well differ from mine. I suspect, though, that most of you would agree that two features requiring further attention are the magnificence of the buildings and the elaborate programme of sculpture. Let's take these in turn.

In Section 1.2 of this block I drew attention to some features of the Forum and Temple that recalled the architectural achievements of fifth century BCE Athens. To us these achievements seem so obvious that these references hardly seem to need explanation. Yet the Greek buildings which were most influential in Rome in the first century BCE were those from the Hellenistic rather than the Classical period and were to be found not so much in mainland Greece but further east, in Asia Minor and Syria. The decision here, and in other of Augustus' buildings, to prefer Classical simplicity over Hellenistic ostentation conveyed a clear message to the people of Rome: Augustus was to be seen not as a Hellenistic monarch but as the leader of the restored republic, first among equals. Given this, the extravagant use of coloured marbles from different parts of the empire might seem surprising. They may perhaps be seen as evidence of Rome's imperial glory, tribute paid to the capital – and to Augustus? – by the peoples now enjoying the benefits of Roman rule. In that case, the marbles would make an appropriate background to the military and foreign policy ceremonies summarised by Suetonius and Dio.

As for the statues, if you think back to the scenes of action set in the pediments of the Parthenon (Block 2, Section 2.5), you may be surprised at the static quality of the pediment in the Temple of Mars. The seven figures are placed quite separately; they do not overlap, nor do they react to each other. All that links them is their connection to Augustus, as a member of the Julian family and successor to Aeneas and Romulus as founders of Rome. The same family link is apparent with the statues inside the Temple and in the figures of the kings of Alba Longa and members of the Julian family surrounding Aeneas in the north-west *exedra*.

At first sight, though, the family connection seems to break down when we turn to the statues of the republican heroes. These figures come from many different families, some of them (e.g. Pompey) had been in competition with the Julii (Iulii), and some (e.g. Marius and Sulla) had been bitter rivals. We know that Augustus prided himself on having put an end to the civil wars and having restored peace to the Roman world (*Res Gestae* 13 and 34.1 in Reading 5.1). In commissioning this parade of outstanding figures from the past he seems to be making an even more extravagant claim, that he stands as the natural culmination of Roman history and that by his success in establishing a new order he has somehow reconciled all the figures of the past: all of them, if only they knew, were contributing to the eventual success of Augustus.

I say 'he (Augustus) seems to be making an even more extravagant claim', and I hope this will prompt you to ask what evidence I have for my statement. Some of you may feel that I have gone too far and have tried to con you into accepting my personal interpretation by dressing it up in the clothes of Augustus. I should have to plead guilty – 'seems' is the give-away – with the rather lame excuse that it may serve as a reminder of the importance of testing every statement against the evidence.

Perhaps one could explore this point further by combining two pieces of evidence you have already met. The first is the inscription *pater patriae* on the *quadriga* in the centre of the Forum (and you may remember Trevor Fear's reference to Augustus' 'increasing paternalism' in Block 3, Section 5.2); the second is Polybius' account (Block 3, Section 3.3; also referred to in Block 4, Section 3.1) of how members of the Roman élite kept images of their ancestors in the *atria* of their houses. I should like to suggest that Augustus treated his new Forum as a gigantic *atrium* and the republican heroes as honorary members of his family, that he had deliberately blurred the distinction

between private and public in establishing his new regime. What do you think?

Finally, you may have noticed that when studying the Parthenon you were asked about the meaning (or meanings) of the frieze, whereas here discussion has focused on Augustus' purpose (or purposes). We have been working on the assumption that Augustus had a clear idea of the message he wanted the Forum and Temple to convey and we have almost ignored the question of how the people of Rome interpreted them.

Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 22.6.13) seems to have reported that Augustus had personally composed the *elogia* beneath the statues. There is no supporting evidence for this idea, and it is almost certainly an exaggeration. What it does tell us, however, is that within two or three generations of Augustus' death it already seemed natural to assume a single controlling mind behind the entire project. Natural – and convincing, perhaps. However, we must keep in mind the danger of simply going round in a circle: we read the Forum and Temple in the light of other evidence about Augustus and his reign and then we use them to help us explain his reign. The extent of Augustus' detailed involvement remains an open question.

When we try to assess how the people of Rome responded to Augustus' Forum and Temple, we find the task complicated by a shortage of evidence. The idea of celebrating the great figures of Roman history would not have caused surprise. In his first collection of *Odes*, published in 23 BCE, Horace mentions – among others – Cato, Regulus, Camillus and Marcellus, and you have read the extract from *Aeneid* 6 (Reading 5.5) in which Virgil links a similar list of heroes to Augustus. Later emperors – Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan – also built new forums, and this may suggest that Augustus' precedent had not met with widespread disapproval. We know of no outright opposition to Augustus' project, but perhaps we should remember Ovid's cynical comment on the association of Mars and Venus in the Temple. Is this how the chattering classes of Rome talked about Augustus behind his back?

1.8 Postscript

An additional section after the end of the Summary may seem unreasonable, but I should like to end by asking you to consider three general points.

- 1 In his essay 'People, Worlds and Time' Phil Perkins warned of the dangers in trying to slice up history into discrete periods. Study of Augustus' reign illustrates this point. Virtually all books on Roman history use the terms 'republic' and 'empire', often putting the line between them in 31 BCE, when Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. We probably agree that the Rome of 2 BCE, when Augustus dedicated the Temple of Mars the Avenger, was not the same as the Rome of 44 BCE, when his adoptive father was killed. Yet Augustus claimed he had restored the republic (*Res Gestae* 34.1 in Reading 5.1). Why did he make this claim? Because he thought it true? Or because he feared the Roman people might think it false?

- 2 *Exploring the Classical World* has been an interdisciplinary course, using different types of evidence and investigating different aspects of the Classical world. As you read in the Course Introduction, Section 1.2, the course does not pretend to be a general survey of everything that happened in the worlds of Greece and Rome – from the fall of Troy to the fall of Rome, from Spain to Syria, Aberdeen to Aswan, or from homosexuality to head lice. In several cases, though, the evidence you have studied could be used to throw light on different topics from those chosen by the course team. For instance, when you studied the Parthenon (Block 2, Sections 2.5 and 2.6), you concentrated on the content and possible meanings of the frieze, but it would have been equally possible to study it from an economic point of view (How much did it cost? Did it contribute to the prosperity of Athens? What craft skills were needed?) or from an art-historical one (How did it compare with other temples from the same period? Can we detect work by different hands? What was its influence on later temples?). Or, to take two examples from the Roman side, you read some of the epitaphs of the Scipios (Block 3, Section 3.2) as evidence of family tradition in Roman politics but they also yield important information about the development of the Latin language; again, the story of Dido and Aeneas in Book 4 of the *Aeneid* (Block 3, Section 5.5) could be studied in the context of its enormous influence on later European literature (Dante, Chaucer, Marlowe, Shakespeare), art (Claude, Poussin, Reynolds, Turner) and music (Purcell, Scarlatti, Haydn, Berlioz). Great works of literature carry their own justification in the pleasure they give us, but – as Trevor Fear pointed out in Block 3, Part 5 – in this course you have studied plays (Block 2) and poetry (Block 3) as sources for historical enquiry. When we use works of literature or art in this way we should be aware that the information they reveal depends to a great extent on the questions we put to them.



- 3 In this part of Block 5 you have made use of a number of different kinds of source: documentary (Augustus, *Res Gestae*), visual and archaeological (the current state of the ruins; the fragments of paving; the Carthage relief), literary (Ovid, *Fasti*; Virgil, *Aeneid*), historiographical (Suetonius; Dio). We have used the variety of evidence to build up a picture of the Forum and Temple and of their significance for the reign of Augustus. It is equally possible, of course, to work the other way round, to start with the Forum and Temple and to see what light they throw on developments outside Rome. You have already seen that copies of the *elogia* beneath the statues were put up in the central Italian town of Arezzo, and abridged versions of those for Aeneas and Romulus have been found in Pompeii. It looks as if these towns had accepted the Augustan message – or at least found it politic to claim they had – and it would not be surprising if other Italian cities took the same line. An even more striking example of the spread of Augustan visual language is the statue of M. Holconius Rufus of Pompeii (Figure 5.9). This small-town bigwig is presented standing in the pose of Mars the Avenger and even wears Mars' breastplate with Nemesis' griffins of vengeance (compare Plate 55 in the Illustrations Book). Nor is the process confined to Italy. At Emerita Augusta (modern Merida) in southern Spain, a colony of legionary veterans founded by Augustus, the forum colonnade built in the early first century CE has statues in niches and an upper storey of caryatids separated by heads of various gods, including that of Jupiter Ammon. And we need not stop there. Mussolini borrowed the *fascies* (the bundle of rods and axes that symbolised the power of Roman magistrates) for the name of his political movement, and alike in the invasion of Ethiopia, in the restoration of the *Ara Pacis*, and in his republication of Augustus' *Res Gestae* he presented his regime as the lineal descendant of the Roman empire.

I began this final section with a reminder of the dangers inherent in periodisation. Yet we cannot study the whole of history, not even the whole of Greek and Roman history, and division into periods is unavoidable. The same is true of the other boundaries we impose upon the study of history – between political, economic, social and cultural history, for example, or between what happened in Rome and what was happening at the same time in the rest of Italy or in the provinces. As Val Hope has pointed out in the introduction to Block 4, scholars impose these boundaries partly for sheer convenience, but also because the choice of one boundary rather than another helps to focus attention on the topics that most interest them – at the risk, of course, of leaving other questions unexamined or even unnoticed! The most interesting and fruitful work often comes when we



Figure 5.9 Statue of M. Holconius Rufus, Pompeii. Naples Museum, inv. no. 6233. Photo: Alinari Archives, Florence.

focus on topics that force us to cross boundaries. We hope that the interdisciplinary approach of A219 has not only provided you with some information about the Classical world but has also introduced you to the value of exploring it in different ways.

References

Ancient sources

- Cassius Dio, *Roman History* in I. Scott-Kilvert and J. Carter (trans.) (1987) *Cassius Dio: The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.
- Cicero, *pro Caelio* in R. Gardner (trans.) (1958) *Cicero: Orations, Vol. XIII*, Harvard: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library).
- Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1876) Berlin: Georg Reimer.
- Horace, *Odes* in W.G. Shepherd (1983) *Horace: The Complete Odes and Epodes*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ovid, *Fasti* in A.J. Boyle and R.D. Woodard (trans) (2000) *Ovid: The Fasti*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ovid, *Tristia* in P. Green (2002) *Ovid: Poems of Exile*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Pliny, *Natural History*. Books 20–23, W.H.S. Jones (trans.) (1951); Books 36–37, D E. Eicholz (1962); both Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library).
- Propertius, *The Poems* in W.G. Shepherd (trans.) (1985) *Propertius: The Poems*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Res Gestae Divi Augusti* in P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore (trans.) (1967) *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Servius, *ad Aeneid* in Burmannus, P. and Burmannus Jnr, P. (eds) (1746) *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera*, Amsterdam, Jacobi Westenii.
- Suetonius, *Divus Julius, Divus Augustus, and Divus Claudius* in R. Graves (trans.) (1979) *The Twelve Caesars*, revised M. Grant, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Virgil, *Georgics* in C. Day Lewis (trans.) (1983) *Virgil: The Eclogues; The Georgics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Virgil, *Aeneid* in C. Day Lewis (1991) *Virgil: The Aeneid*, with introduction and notes by J. Griffin, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Modern scholarship

Steinby, E.M. (1995) 'Forum Augustum' in Steinby, E.M (ed.) *Lexicon Topographicum Romanum*, Rome: Edizioni Quasar.

Further reading

The following books are not part of the course materials. You are not expected to obtain, read or study them. However, if you would like to find out more about some of the topics presented in the block or to follow up some of the references, you may find the following list a useful starting point.

Carter, J.M. (ed.) (1982) *Suetonius, Divus Augustus*, London: Bristol Classical Press.

Claridge, A. (1998) *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Herbert-Brown, G. (1994) *Ovid and the Fasti*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nash, E. (1968) *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Zwemmer.

Richardson Jnr, L. (1992) *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.

Walker, S. and Burnett, A. (1981) *The Image of Augustus*, London: British Museum Publications.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1994) *Augustan Rome*, London: Bristol Classical Press.

Ward-Perkins, J.B. (1981), *Roman Imperial Architecture* (2nd edn), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Zanker, P. (no date) *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm*, Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.

Zanker, P. (1990) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (tr. Shapiro, A.), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Part 2 Preparing for the examination

2.1 Introduction

Congratulations on reaching the final stage of your journey through the Classical world! It has, I hope, taken you to some exciting places, which you will revisit in the future. It has been a journey through time and space, from Troy to Rome, from the world of the imagination to the realm of the pragmatic, from epic to satire, from discovery to consolidation. Just one hurdle remains. I hope that this part of the block will provide practical assistance in jumping this hurdle without detracting too much from your enjoyment of A219. Try, indeed, to enjoy the revision period and the exam as giving you a chance to consolidate your knowledge and to show your understanding and appreciation of the Classical world.

The work you have just done in the first part of Block 5 focused on the Forum of Augustus was designed to help you to understand how the aspects of Classical culture, both Greek and Roman, you have studied in the earlier blocks can be seen to be connected. In particular you studied the buildings of the Forum of Augustus not only for their particular qualities and the organic unity between them within a Roman context but also in terms of their reliance on Greek influences, for example in the use of the orders of architecture. Such a synthesis is important because it shows that culture is not static and frozen in one period of time and isolated from external influences but dynamic and making something new out of existing traditions, whatever their source. Given that the Romans absorbed the Greek world into their empire and many of their greatest achievements relied on Greek models (for example, the influence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on Virgil's *Aeneid*) it is likely that you have seen connections as moving from Greece to Rome in this way. It is also possible, however, and equally valid to consider Greek and Roman culture not so much as organically linked but more in terms of difference. For example, you might have noted the differences between the democratic practices of fifth-century Athens and the ways in which the Roman republic operated.

You would not, however, have been able to take either approach had you not first studied each of the four periods, two Greek and two Roman, in Blocks 1–4. These are the building blocks for any study of the Classical world, each making a particular contribution. You have studied all of them in some depth, examining key primary sources and using them to discuss important issues. This type of detailed study is designed to enable you to draw informed opinions and improve your confidence in approaching similar material elsewhere. I hope that it has succeeded, even if you find, as I do, that sometimes more questions arise than firm answers.

You can, therefore, at this stage confine broader considerations of issues separately to each of the four periods you have studied in Blocks 1–4. For example, you have doubtless found that in Block 2 your close examination of *Persians*, the *Lysistrata*, the Parthenon frieze and Pericles' Funeral Speech (*Epitaphios Logos*) has revealed certain recurring elements, such as social divisions and tensions in Athens. You will be doing some more detailed work on identifying these elements later on in the block after each of the four periods has been reviewed, building on what you have done already, for example in Block 2, Part 4.

2.2 Review: *Exploring the Classical World*

In this section you will be revisiting the four periods on which your studies have been concentrated. In order to do this coherently it is necessary to construct a framework within which these can be seen to fit. The best way of doing this is by looking again at the general timeline and the other timelines you have built up as you have gone through each stage of the course.

Exercise



Please access your general timeline (via the eDesktop) and remind yourself of the four periods covered in the first four blocks of the course. Using your general timeline and the block-specific timelines, identify one important date from each of these four periods. Then answer the following questions.

- 1 Why is it an important date?
- 2 How can I use this date to remind me of the sources I have studied, both texts and material objects?
- 3 How can I develop a wider understanding of the sources and the period to which they relate?

Discussion

There are plenty of examples which you might have picked and you might have chosen different dates from mine but this does not matter as we are aiming to use whatever we choose simply as starting points to wider consideration of the periods from which they come. Dates are not important in themselves – only as pegs on which to hang knowledge and understanding and as memory aids. I am going to work through my examples to give you some ideas about the four periods.

From the 'Homer and the Greek "Dark Age"' timeline I have chosen 720–700 BCE, the approximate date of the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This reminds me of the two Homeric poems studied in Block 1, which are important both as texts studied for their literary qualities and as constituting part of the evidence for the 'Dark Age' of Greece. From this starting point you can radiate outwards to find other evidence, notably visual sources, including pottery.

Similarly, in my selection from the 'Classical Athens' timeline of 472 BCE, the date of the production of Aeschylus' tragedy *Persians*, it is possible to search more widely. Firstly, I can reconsider this play for its dramatic qualities, bringing in its performance in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens. I can then look at wider implications, including social attitudes and contemporary issues, looking for other dates, for example 480 BCE, the date of the battle of Salamis whose course and aftermath are explored in Aeschylus' play. Also I can range more widely in the fifth century BCE and find the date of the performance of the *Lysistrata*, setting that in its context too. After this I might look for the dates of the carving of the Parthenon frieze and the delivery of Pericles' Funeral Speech (*Epitaphios Logos*). Having established the chronological order of these sources I am in a position to consider any issues that arise, including those that might link them.

The date I have selected from 'The Roman Republic' timeline is 31 BCE, which effectively marks the end of the Roman republic with Octavian's victory over Mark Antony at Actium. This allows me to look back at what the republic had been, especially its constitution and values, and its subsequent collapse through civil war. At the same time this date invites focus on some of the poetry produced under Augustus (the former Octavian). As well as concentrating on the poems of Horace and Virgil, I can also seek out literary evidence pertaining to early Roman history, for example the works of Livy, who was writing at the same time as Virgil, and the later republic, for example Appian, who was writing much later than the events he describes. There are also material remains to assess, including inscriptions such as those at the Tomb of the Scipios. In this way I range more widely in chronology but still focus on a particular period. I am now in a position to tease out some issues arising from it, for example that of the individual in relation to the state.

The fourth period (from the 'Rome – City and People' timeline) may be more difficult to pin down, dealing as it does with social history, which does not always have particular dates to define it. I have, therefore, opted for Pliny the Younger's life (birth date CE 61). This

highlights the period in which he lived and wrote, when the Roman empire was at its widest extent with an emperor well established at its centre. From here it is possible to survey the practices and values of people of different backgrounds and status with a view to drawing out themes such as family relationships and attitudes to leisure.

Having established these four solid bases from which to make further progress, I would like to draw attention to the two specific things you need to abstract from each of them both for the revision period and for the examination. Firstly there are sources, both literary and non-literary, and secondly there are issues. For these are the things you need to work on in order to write successful answers in the examination. In conjunction with them you need to use skills, many of which you have already developed in the process of completing your TMAs. In the next section you will consider how to use and develop these skills while working on sources and themes in preparation for the examination.

2.3 Preparation for the examination

Remember that having completed at least one TMA on each block you are already in a good position to take the exam. The process of doing each TMA has prepared you for the sort of assessment you will face in the examination, and you have not only course materials but also, more importantly, your own notes and essays to guide you as you prepare. In addition you have your tutor's guidance and comments on all the TMAs you have done and feedback from two CMAs. The questions in the exam will not, of course, be the same as TMA questions but they may cover some similar ground and, more importantly, will require the same skills.

This section will help you to use these resources in a proactive way in order to improve both your skills and your confidence.

The examination

Before you start revising you need to have a clear idea of what the examination will be assessing. It will be useful, therefore, to have the Specimen Examination Paper to hand.

You will be assessed on:

- Your ability to analyse primary source material of various types, both written and visual. You will be expected to choose items from a range of alternatives (which includes at least one from each block) and then put them into context and discuss wider issues arising from them.

- Your knowledge of material presented in the blocks. (Don't worry too much about precise detail as, although a certain amount of knowledge is essential, the examination is not simply testing your memory for detail: all knowledge is linked to evaluation and understanding, as will become clearer below.)
- Your ability to show understanding of issues arising from your study of primary sources and interpretations of them by scholars in each of the blocks.

You will not be assessed on:

- Block 5, Part 1.
- What is not in the A219 course material. This may sound obvious but remember that you have been given ICT resources on the eDesktop and have been encouraged to explore the internet for additional information. You will only be assessed on what is in the blocks, accompanying essays, particular entries in the *OCCC*, some chapters in *BHAG* and some in Beard and Crawford, and the content of the DVDs and CDs. You will not be expected to analyse a primary source outside these resources. Remember, however, that in an instance such as the Parthenon frieze you have been given the opportunity to supplement your appreciation through the internet, even though it is printed in the A219 Illustrations Book. Here you may use what you have gained from the internet, but this is not compulsory.
- Chapters in *BHAG*, and Beard and Crawford other than those introduced in the blocks.
- Entries in the *OCCC* other than those discussed in the blocks.
- The details of material presented in the essays in *Exploring the Classical World* (as opposed to your understanding of the issues they raise) unless the details are discussed in the blocks.

Have a careful look now at the Specimen Examination Paper and the accompanying notes, if you have not done so already, to see how the questions embody these aims in both range and rubric. It is a good idea to do this at the start of the revision process so that you have a good idea of what you are aiming at and as a means of structuring your thoughts about the course material. You will, as a result, build up your confidence and ensure that you stay 'on task', using what time you have to good effect. Remember that the format of the Specimen Examination Paper is exactly the same as that of the actual exam.

Exercise


Now listen to CD6, *Revising for the Examination*, Tracks 1–5, in which I give you some general advice on the following aspects of revision and preparation for the exam:

- planning
 - time-management
 - use of course materials
 - note-taking
-

Revising skills

In Part 1 of the exam you will be expected to demonstrate your knowledge of primary sources, but the questions set will require relatively little recall of exact details outside the passage or image set apart from identifying the passage or image within its context. This makes your task easier in some ways because, so long as you can apply the appropriate methodology and skills, you will not be dependent on memory alone. Now look at the rubric for Part 1 of the Specimen Examination Paper and you can see the methodology, which follows a similar trajectory to rubrics you have followed for shorter TMA questions in the later blocks. It would be a good idea at this stage to read again Chris Emlyn-Jones' advice on this in Block 1, Section 2.3 in order to refresh your memory of some of the skills required.

Although the use of primary sources may seem less obvious in Part 2 of the exam, nonetheless it is equally necessary to use them, but in a different way. Here you need to use them to illustrate and support the arguments you develop in response to the themes and issues posed by the question.

Let's now concentrate on the skills needed for dealing with primary sources in Part 1 of the exam.

Exercise

To aid further revision of these skills, look now at the course materials, your notes and your TMAs on each of the four blocks. Imagine you are an examiner trying to find a suitable written extract or visual item that will allow candidates to display skills and knowledge appropriately. Remember that those setting questions survey materials in much the same way as you are being asked to do here. Select a

short list of about eight written excerpts and/or visual items, two from each block, and note which you have chosen. Make sure they are different items from those in the Specimen Examination Paper and your TMA booklet, as this will give you a wider range on which to practise. On the other hand, use the Specimen Examination Paper as a guide for the approximate length of extracts taken from written sources (about 20 lines of text). You might find it helpful to refer to your timeline and the notes you have made earlier on the four periods you have studied in the blocks, particularly on primary sources.

Discussion

You might have set about this task as I did by going through in chronological order. This is a helpful approach as, in conjunction with the timeline, it helps to reinforce in your mind what the primary sources are for each of the four periods you have studied. I then looked at my notes to refresh my memory on what the main primary sources are in each period. After this I looked at each source in turn, ranging over it as a whole – another useful revision process, as it helps to contextualise.

The criterion I applied next was memorability, which can be defined firstly in terms of what is worth remembering: for example, a memorable watershed like 31 BCE, when Octavian's victory at Actium secured his pre-eminence; or the reason why you remember a particular date, for example 472 BCE as the date of the production of *Persians* only a few years after the events depicted in it. Secondly, memorability can be defined as the ease with which something is remembered, for example your own way of remembering a particular date. What is memorable for me, of course, may be less memorable for you. We will all place emphasis on different points, but that does not matter here, as you are actively constructing an understanding of key sources in A219 for yourself.

I then made my selections, checking that I could make out some typical features in each of my choices, which would give scope for a good answer. The main value of this exercise, apart from reinforcing your knowledge of the sources for each of the four periods, is to try to identify what it is that an examiner is looking for. We are not 'question-spotting' here, but looking for the type of passage or image that will bring out knowledge understanding and allow the demonstration of skills acquired in A219.

For the purposes of this exercise my short list consists of: one passage from the *Iliad* and one from the *Odyssey* from Block 1, one photograph

of part of the Parthenon frieze and a passage from *Lysistrata* from Block 2, one inscription and a passage of Virgil in Block 3 and in Block 4 part of one of Pliny's letters and one of Martial's poems. There are all sorts of other possibilities, as you will have noticed in the Specimen Examination Paper, although all possible selections are not included. For example, part of Pericles' Funeral Speech (*Epitaphios Logos*) recorded by Thucydides from Block 2 would also be an appropriate choice.

The examiner has to think about how any rubric is to be applied with the different types of evidence. So it is not just a matter of picking any example and asking the candidate simply to describe or summarise it or write anything about it that comes to mind. Examiners never ask you to write everything you know about something. You have to do something with the material. There are two important aspects of this in A219:

- 1 context
- 2 points of significance

Context

Firstly you have to consider the context of the stimulus, which will reflect a particular angle depending on what type of evidence it is. For example, a literary source has an internal context (what comes before and after a particular passage and its structural importance) and an external context of the work as a whole (including when it was written, for whom and by whom), there being some overlap between the two. The table below summarises the meanings of context in relation to different types of evidence.

Context	
Epic poetry	What is happening in the story at the point where the extract occurs, especially the immediate events leading up to it and the immediate consequences.
Drama	The internal context: what is happening in the plot at the point where the extract occurs, especially the immediate events leading up to it and the immediate consequences. The external context: performance factors, for example, <i>Persians</i> having been performed in 472 BCE with Pericles as <i>choregos</i>. In Part 1 of the A219 exam you should concentrate on setting the internal context.

Other poetry	Who it was written by, who it was written for, when it was written and any other poems it goes with (for example as part of a sequence). Whether it is an entire poem and, if not, how the passage fits into what comes before and after.
History writing (historiography)	What historical events the passage refers to, who the author is, when it was written and for whom, what comes before and after a passage.
Letter	Who it was written to, when it was written and published and any letters it goes with (for example as part of a collection). Whether it is an entire letter and, if not, how the passage fits into what comes before and after. It may be appropriate to write about some of these or all of these, depending on the particular passage set.
Inscription	Its subject, where it was found (its provenance), original siting and approximate date, whether it is an entire inscription (it may be fragmentary).
Pottery	Where the pot was found (its provenance), where it was made, its type and its approximate date.
Sculpture	Where it was found (its provenance), original siting, its type and approximate date.
Architecture	Where it was built, how this fits into the development of the site where it was built, its type, its date, who built it and for whom.

Points of significance

There are three areas here: content, form and value as a source for any particular aspect of the Classical world. You do not necessarily have to deal with each of these in equal measure in a particular answer, nor will the proportions be the same for answers on different types of text or image. It is, however, beneficial to have some knowledge of what is involved so that you can give the best possible response, whichever alternative you choose.

Content and form

I shall deal with content and form together here as it is not always easy to disentangle the two. As with the definitions of different types of context above, I shall cover each type of text or image in turn. The balance between content and form will vary considerably from example to example.

<i>Content and form</i>	
Epic poetry	Descriptive epithets, formulaic lines and sequences, similes, rhetorical language and key concepts (like <i>xenia</i>) occur within a storytelling form which uses narrative and direct speech. What happens in a passage is important as well as the ways the themes within it interact with the work as a whole.
Drama	Aspects of form are: choral <i>parodos</i> , episode, <i>stasimon</i> , <i>exodos</i> in both tragedy and comedy, with the additional <i>parabasis</i> in comedy. In the episodes there are various types of spoken discourse, including long speeches, which often contain vivid imagery and rhetorical devices. Content and form can also be linked to staging, for example the choral poems performed by the chorus in the <i>orchestra</i> . You can also approach form through themes. For the unique aspects of a particular passage, including the themes addressed in it, are important in themselves and in the ways they relate to the work as a whole.
Other poetry	Form is dictated by the type of poem and is expressed through the narrative voice or <i>persona</i> adopted. Content includes poetic imagery, including metaphor and diction (choice of words).
History writing (historiography)	Narrative prose predominates as the form but speeches are used in particular ways, for example by Thucydides. Content includes information, interpretation and judgements, explicit and implicit.
Letter	Epistolary form is constructed around a writer and an addressee. Matters of common interest are the content, including personal relationships, politics and matters of social concern, expressed in prose which is sometimes direct and sometimes more elaborate.
Inscription	Inscriptions tend to follow a formula in which the form and content are closely associated. There might be, for example, the name of the person setting up the dedication, the name of the person to whom it is dedicated and further relevant details about this person.

Pottery	Details such as geometric shapes and human form are contained within the shape of the pot and its field. Judgements can be made about style, how the field is used and artistic quality.
Sculpture	To some extent the form will depend on whether a particular item of sculpture is free-standing or, as in the case of the Parthenon frieze, relief sculpture. In the latter the rectangular shape of the slab is a form within which other forms, human and animal, are depicted with appropriate details such as musculature, facial features and bodily pose.
Architecture	The type of building (for example a temple), the use of orders (for example Doric), materials and ground plan are aspects of content and form.

Value as a source

Having picked out features of content and/or form of a particular text or image, you are in a position to pass comment on its value as a source for any particular aspect of the Classical world. This involves evaluation as well as analysis. Any specific value will depend to some extent on the particular item under scrutiny. Judgements about value also depend on the question you want to ask of the source (i.e. what it may provide evidence about). The points in the table that follows may be helpful on the different types of source.

<i>Value as a source</i>	
Epic poetry	Its value may be seen in terms of, for example, what it conveys about social values but one does need to consider whose values they are, whether those pertaining at the time of composition or much earlier. It is also important to bear in mind that both the <i>Iliad</i> and the <i>Odyssey</i> are artistic constructs. The values they contain, therefore, can be seen in terms of themes and issues in the internal world of the poems themselves, and you are only expected to focus on these. (See also Block 1, Section 2.3 for discussion of Homer's art and broader themes in the poems.)
Drama	The value of tragic drama might be seen in terms of, for example, the themes and issues addressed (social, political and religious). Aeschylus' <i>Persians</i> might also be considered for its atypical non-mythical subject, scenario

Drama (cont.)	and characters. It is not possible, however, to be sure what Aeschylus' own opinions were. Comedy of the type Aristophanes wrote includes topical allusions and references to contemporary institutions and attitudes but in weighing up the value one does need to consider the genre of comedy.
Other poetry	It will depend to some extent what type a particular poem is. For example, a satirical poem by Martial can perhaps be understood in terms of real people and events but it is likely to be angled or exaggerated.
History writing (historiography)	Its value might be seen as being in the fact that it deals with historical events. This does not, however, mean that it tells us the 'truth'. We need to consider how accurate treatment of detail is and the bias or particular method of the writer. For example, in his speeches Thucydides wrote what he considered a particular occasion demanded, not anything like a modern transcript.
Letter	A letter might appear to be a spontaneous expression of feeling or opinion. This may be the case or may be partly true but if a letter was written with a view to publication it is likely to be angled in a particular way, perhaps to present the writer in a particular light or to accord with the sensibilities of a readership wider than just a single addressee.
Inscription	The value of an inscription lies partly in the information it gives. This can be of additional value if compared with other inscriptions of a similar type or set against other sources on the same subject. One can, however, sometimes only guess at the feelings and opinions of the person or body that set it up. Sometimes, however, the purpose is made clear either in the inscription itself or on other evidence relating to the context (which could be either documentary or relating to the place where it was set up).
Pottery	The value of a pot may be in its provenance, its type, or the style in which the decoration is painted. Its value is considerably increased when it is compared with other examples and explained in terms of the conditions and values prevalent at the time of composition.

Sculpture	The value of an item of sculpture also lies partly in its provenance, especially if associated with a particular temple or site, its type and style. It can also be explained in terms of the conditions and values prevalent at the time of composition.
Architecture	The value of a building can be seen in conjunction with items of sculpture from it, for example pediments from a temple. It can also be seen in terms of how it relates to other buildings on the same site and to the community it served in terms of religious and secular values.

Exercise

From the eight examples you selected earlier now pick just one, as you would in the exam. You might like to make your choice from early in A219 as it is likely to be less prominent in your memory than sources you have studied more recently and, therefore, will help you to refresh your memory. Apply the rubric below, which is typical of the wording of an exam question of this sort, and write notes towards possible answers for the choice you have just made. In doing this exercise you obviously have access to the course materials for checking the points you make. You can, therefore, include a wider range than is possible in the exam with its strict time limit.

Write on any one of the texts/images (a)–(d) below [in this case, the example you have just chosen]. For the text or image that you choose:

- a) Briefly provide its context (using the list above to help).
- b) Discuss any points of significance in respect of one or more of the following:
 - content
 - form
 - the value as a source for any particular issues in the Classical world on which it provides evidence.

Discussion

Now look at the notes you have written. You have hopefully confined yourself to a few important points in setting the context. If you have used course materials to help, make a note of what you needed to check. This might help you to manage next time as it gives you a pattern of how to answer and an indication of the sort of essential

points that are required when you do. Further practice will help you to develop this skill.

For the second part of the question I hope that you then selected particular features from the passage or image in order to provide an answer that is focused. This will, of course, depend on what type of text or image you are working with. If it is a written one, you will probably have noted particular words or phrases, for example the use of a simile in a passage from the *Odyssey*. If it was an image, you will have concentrated on particular visible features, for example the rendering of drapery on a section of the Parthenon frieze. You have probably used these to move on to more general evaluation, for example the narrative style of the Homeric poems or the representation of drapery and human form on the frieze as a whole.

You might like to practise again, this time writing notes for another of the choices you have just made. Save any other texts or images you have chosen for later in the revision period and work through them in the same way as you have just done with one example. I suggest that you increasingly wean yourself off course material as you practise for the exam, using the materials more for checking purposes after undertaking your attempt. This is an exercise that could also be undertaken as part of a revision tutorial or in a self-help group.

Revising for Part 1: primary sources

Exercise



Now listen to CD6, *Revising for the Examination*, Tracks 6–10, where I give advice on how to revise for Part 1 of the exam. I offer some strategies, including tips on how to approach the analysis and evaluation of an item of primary source material.

You will need to have to hand a copy of the Specimen Examination Paper, your copy of Readings Book 1 and note-making materials. Before you start the CD please make sure you have in front of you the *Iliad* 24.486–506 in Reading 1.5.

While the CD is playing keep this passage and the Specimen Examination Paper in front of you and make any notes that you need. Remember to stop the CD whenever you need to. You may also need to listen more than once.

After listening to this part, review any notes you have made as you have been listening and compare them with the notes you made on your own choices of written passage or image in the previous exercise. Make any further notes that you will find helpful during the revision period and do plenty of practice, perhaps timing your attempts in the later stages of revision.

Revising for Part 2: essays on the four main blocks of A219

Part 2 of the exam requires some different skills from those that you have just practised for Part 1. The longer essays you have written on each block are the models here but, of course, in the exam you will be writing under pressure of time and will not have access to course materials and will not be expected to make detailed references. You will be thinking about how to use what you have learned in the course and to answer specific questions.

Firstly, you need to see how to use the primary sources you have been analysing in different ways. Look at the list below, which summarise the skills you have been developing for answers based on a passage/image and then show the skills needed in employing sources in longer essays.

Answers based on a passage/image

- Literary skills – recognising and discussing different genres of writing, including epic, lyric, tragedy, comedy, rhetoric, historical narrative, satire and letter writing.
- Reading inscriptions – analysing and understanding inscriptions in a particular context (e.g. funerary).
- Material culture – examining evidence from material culture (e.g. buildings, pottery, sculpture) in a particular context.

Longer essays

- Literary skills – comparing how a theme or issue is treated by various authors; using literary sources in a wider argument.
- Reading inscriptions – using inscriptions with images and literary sources in a wider argument.
- Material culture – using material culture in a wider argument.

As each essay set in Part 2 will be based on a particular issue arising from a particular block, a good way to start revision is to go back to Blocks 1–4 and compile a list of issues arising in each. These will be the subjects on which you will exercise the essay skills listed above.

Exercise

Now draw up a list of issues (themes) that arise in each block. I suggest you try to identify at least three from each block. The best way to do this is to start from your timelines, both the general one and those specific to blocks, and the notes you have made in the earlier exercise in Section 2.1 of this block. Sketch a preliminary list, re-reading course materials and using such things as headings in the blocks as guidance. You will find the conclusions to Blocks 2 and 3 particularly helpful both for specifics and as a general guide to the process. You might supplement any issues you find by referring to TMAs you have done and notes you have made already. Remember that you do not have to look for issues that cross from one block to another, even though you may notice such links as you go through the exercise. Nor do you need to confine yourself to key issues that go across all the primary sources in one block. For example, in Block 2 you might identify an issue on spoken discourse relevant to drama and Pericles' Funeral Speech (*Epitaphios Logos*), but not to the Parthenon frieze.

Discussion

Don't worry if you have not thought of a long list of issues. Even a few will be useful for your structuring of revision. Also the actual process of searching for something in particular will have set your mind working in a productive and organised way.

I have found the following issues:

Block 1

- a) hospitality (*xenia*);
- b) honour (*time*);
- c) revenge;
- d) virtue (*arete*);
- e) heroism;
- f) war;
- g) relations between gods and humans;
- h) the role of women;
- i) homecoming (*nostos*);
- j) storytelling.

Block 2

- a) performance and display (see Block 2, Part 4 for subdivisions to this theme and some of those below);
- b) Athens and empire;
- c) How the Athenians represented themselves and others, e.g. the Spartans;
- d) social divisions and tensions;
- e) myth;
- f) competition;
- g) individual and collective responsibility;
- i) images – visual and verbal.

Block 3

- a) individuals, groups and the state;
- b) breakdown of the republican system;
- c) Roman values and *exempla*;
- d) wealth;
- e) myth and legend;
- f) tradition and innovation;
- g) Roman and non-Roman;
- h) 'spin' and propaganda;
- i) civil strife;
- j) moral and immoral behaviour;
- k) urban and rural.

Block 4

- a) social groups and social status;
- b) urban and rural;
- c) friendship;
- d) patron and client;
- e) slave and free;
- f) the family;
- g) the place of children;
- h) death.

Now check your list of issues against mine. See how many are the same and how many you have thought of that are different. One could go on for a long time adding and refining, but what matters is that you

now have a list of issues which can be adapted as you revise further both on your own and, possibly, with others. For example, some work on themes and issues at a revision tutorial might be helpful, or discussion with other students through self-help groups. One initial thing you could do is to work out what issues are addressed in the Part 2 questions on the Specimen Examination Paper, using your list to help.

Exercise



Please listen now to CD6, *Revising for the Examination*, Tracks 11–15, where I give advice on essay technique for Part 2 of the exam.

You will need to have with you a copy of the Specimen Examination Paper and a notebook and pen. Remember to stop the CD whenever you need to. You may also wish to listen more than once.

Discussion

I hope the advice that you have just listened to is helpful in developing the technique needed for answering this type of question in Part 2 of the exam. You can extend your practice by preparing essay plans for the questions on the Specimen Examination Paper. This exercise could also be done as part of a revision tutorial or in a self-help group.

I hope you are now feeling more confident about tackling the exam. Remember that the exam is designed to help you to show what you are able to do after your study of A219. In the last section, there are a few final tips.

2.4 What to do in the exam

- Divide the time available into sections, using the structuring of the Specimen Examination Paper to guide you.
- Allocate appropriate time for Part 1 questions.
- Divide the remaining time equally for the questions chosen in Part Two.
- Stick to these divisions, as you will gain more by giving each question its full allocation of time than by a lopsided approach. No extra weighting, for example, is given to an essay, however good. So there is no point in giving it an undue proportion of the time available.

Part 1

- It is probably best to start with Part 1, as you have some specific images and written passages to focus your mind on, but you can do the questions you choose in any order. Always, however, keep in mind the divisions of time you have already made.
- Spend a little time reminding yourself of the rubric.
- Spend a little longer deciding which passages/images to write about, especially to avoid the situation where halfway through an answer you might realise you have made a bad choice. This wastes time.
- You will then have the remainder of the time you originally allocated to do each question in Part 1. This means that you must stick rigidly to the task.
- Avoid lengthy introductions but instead write your setting of the context briefly and without delay.
- This should leave the bulk of the time for answering the more complex part of the question. Start here by selecting key words, phrases or visual elements and working outwards from them.
- Keep an eye on the time and, sticking to your schedule, start any other question(s) in Part 1 demanded by the rubric, following the same procedure as for the first.

Part 2

- After an appropriate time, sticking to the schedule you worked out, move on to Part 2.
- Spend some time selecting the essays you are going to attempt.
- If you are sure of one choice and uncertain of another, don't waste time but go on to your firm choice.
- Make an essay plan before starting to write your answer. This is important as it gives you a structure. This might take five minutes or so, but don't allow it to become too detailed. (Listen again to CD6, Tracks 13–15, for specific advice.)
- Start with a brief introduction (CD6, Track 14).
- Develop your argument in paragraphs, with points arranged in such a way that each point leads to the next in fluent fashion. You should provide as many examples as you can from primary sources. References are not, of course, expected in the same way as for a TMA essay.
- Write your conclusion. If you think of something you have missed, which is appropriate earlier, don't put it in the conclusion but write it



after and then put a clear symbol by what you have written and the same symbol at the place earlier in the essay where it fits.

- Keep your eye on the clock and after an appropriate time turn to your next question. You should still have the full time allocation you devised earlier. It is important to leave yourself this in order to avoid panic as the seconds and minutes tick away.
- Make your selection of question.
- Follow the same procedure as for your first essay in Part 2.
- After you have completed your final answer ideally you should try to leave a few minutes for checking at the end, but don't worry if this is not possible. The main thing is to have produced the number of answers required by the exam paper, short ones in Part 1 and longer essays in Part 2, which are as finished as possible.

Finally I would like to pass on two practical tips. Firstly, try to make sure that during the revision period you have plenty of handwriting practice as in the exam you will have to do all your writing by hand. Secondly, take a trip to the place where you will be sitting the exam before the actual day so that you know how long it takes to get there without having to rush. This will help you to approach the exam in a relaxed frame of mind.

I hope that you have found this revision block useful and that you have enjoyed the course. Enjoyment does come out in exam answers. Try to keep this sense of enjoyment in sight as you put the final touches to your preparation. Good luck!

Arts: Level 2

A219 Exploring the Classical World



The Open University

Front cover image: Piazza della Rotonda, Rome, Italy.

© Karl Weatherly/Photodisc Red/Getty Images AA012512

ISBN 0 7492 9652 6